1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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402 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.

249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *No Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.